pearing more or less rapidly, mostly in favor of Amharic. 6 191
They include Argobba, Adare or Harari, Gurage, Gafat. 197

2. The Land.

A. Geographical Location.

The Empire of Ethiopia(south of Eritrea) is located in 131
the northeastern part of Africa, roughly between 5° and 15° north latitude, and 33° -43° east longitude. Prior to the federation of Eritrea in 1952, which added about 45,000 sq. miles and brought access to the Red Sea, Ethiopia had 350,000 sq. miles of landlocked territory. It was roughly the size of Texas, New Mexico and Arizona.

It is a mountainous kingdom, separated from the Red Sea 133
and the Gulf of Aden on the northeast and the Indian Ocean on the southeast by hot lowland deserts; a steep escarpment borders all along the western area down to the hot lowland of the Sudan. This mountain fortress type of landscape has enabled the plateau people to retain their independence against would-be invaders.

Today the political territory of Ethiopia is divided into 631
12 administrative provinces (Taqlai Gezat), each under a Governor-General appointed by the Emperor. Each province is subdivided into several(usually six) sub-provinces (Awrajja Gezat), ruled by a governor similarly appointed.

Three of the 12 provinces are Amharic-speaking; the 191
national language has recently become the lingua franca for the larger centers of population in the other provinces also.

B. Climate, Climatic Zones, and Topography. 132

Climate and topography are closely inter-related in

3: Buxton Y-5 (1946-1948)1949 MP5 Amhara MP5

The fragment of country depicted by the map lies on the edge of an important section of the Shoan plateau which extends in the form of an elongated oval north-eastwards from Addis Ababa and forms the watershed between the drainage systems of the Awash and the Blue Nile. The Asmara road uses this convenient high causeway from Addis Ababa to a little beyond Debra Berhan, and would go on using it if this were possible, for the road was made to follow the plateau wherever it was flat enough. North of Debra Berhan, however, the country is tremendously cut up by deep ravines and no level plateau remains. The road is therefore forced down, at Debra Sina, to lower levels (as happens again in several places on the way to Asmara). The higher portions of this plateau lie at well over 9000 feet and constitute an undulating tract, sometimes almost flat, sometimes rather hilly, where differences in level amount to a few hundred feet only. But, on both sides, the plateau breaks up in the most spectacular fashion. To the north-west lie a series of gorges, all belonging to the Blue Nile system, opening up with extreme abruptness along an irregular front, as will be seen in the map. To the east, the plateau terminates in some places at the main escarpment which bounds the Danakil plains, an impressive drop of several thousand feet along a fault, well seen at Ankober and Debra Sina. But farther south the simplicity of this escarpment is disguised by certain tributaries of the Hawash system which, eating their way into the plateau, have formed gorges as striking as those of the Blue Nile system. These gorges, cutting back continually, must in time complete the destruction of the plateau, and produce, by the interdigitation of their deeply entrenched headstreams, the confused type of scenery already observable farther north.

The geological structure of the plateau, on which the local landscape, and especially the peculiar type of gorge developed, directly depends, seems to be extremely simple and almost the same as that which occurs over vast areas of central and northern Ethiopia. As long ago as 1870 the step-like hill sides and tremendous gorges of the Magdala area were well described by Blanford,[1] who had accompanied the Napier Expedition. He compared Abyssinian scenery with that of the western Deccan and the Western Ghats of India, but remarked that in the case of Abyssinia the special features of this type of landscape were exaggerated. He drew attention to the hill-forts or "ambas" of Abyssinia, closely corresponding to features which had likewise been used in India as forts.

Writing of the Jitta gorge near Magdala, Blanford says:

> ". . . we came suddenly on the brink of the mighty chasm in which the Jitta river runs, and to which all the minor valleys converge. Of all the grand scenery met with in Abyssinia, none equalled this wonderful gorge. It is 3500 feet deep, and looks scarcely a mile across. The sides are extremely steep, in places nearly perpendicular. The horizontal beds on both sides appear to correspond exactly; half-way down there is a well-marked terrace, evidently formed by the same bed, on both sides of the river. The bedding is very distinct.
>
> It is to be regretted that all those geologists who disbelieve in the power

[1] Blanford, 'The Geology and Zoology of Abyssinia,' p. 86, London, 1870.

5: Bruce T-5 (1768-1773) 1804
MP5 Amhara MP5

principal revenue of the clergy is the presents made by The those who are sick, or dying. 794

The dress of the Acab saat is a purple burnoose, with a white turban, not unlike the Turkish Imams, or a white handkerchief hanging loose behind. The Kees hatze is the king's official confessor, official Alaka of the church of Tecla-haimanout, and curator of the two churches of Gondar. 292

The Abuna's words of absolution, in a case of excommunication, is, "Gzier ephtac," God absolve thee. [783]

Women, after having born a son, are excluded from the church 40 days, and if a daughter, 80. The really married are those who receive the sacrament on that occasion. Persons who have been connected with any woman, are excluded from church during three days; if that connection has been promiscuous, they are excluded seven; and then even admitted to receive the sacrament. If a man, really married, is guilty with another's wife, he is not debarred a longer period. Women in the menses are not allowed to enter the church till seven days afterwards. Circumcision is performed on the eight, and baptism is celebrated on the forty-first day of the child's age. On all the fore-mentioned occasions they only come within the inner precinct, and kiss the walls and door-posts of the church. The clergy are rigid in these matters, and that is, perhaps, one of the reasons why the churches are ill-attended. It is their only duty; the monks making no scruple of confessing that they cannot enter the church, for that day they had to do with a woman, which is not attended with any impeachment. 796 784 [846] [841] [304] [852]

Geography and revenue of Abyssinia.—The Iteghe from Bure in two days arrived at Metchakel, in her way to Gojam: It may be about as far as from this (Gondar) to Caroota; I suppose from 30 to 32 miles at farthest. From Metchakel to Nazarit six days easy journey; from 10 to 12 miles, I suppose, *per diem*. Gojam here belongs to Ayto Aylo, son of Ozoro Welleta Israel. The Galla are Toluma. The Galla who border on Amhara are much the worst of all the Galla, and the least worst are the Edjow east of them, bordering upon Begemder and Angot, called Guangoul Galla. Those near Amhara are Wutchali, Woolo, Amito, and Toluma; 131 361 101

Ep. 577

5: Bruce T-5 (1768-1773) 1804
MP5 Amhara MP5

133 water, and near the banks of the river the country is desert.

651 Damot pays 800 ounces (wakea) of gold; formerly 1000. Gojam 80 ounces, and 70 mules. Lasta 1000 ounces; these last years it pays no more, being at present annexed to Begemder. Tigre pays 400 ounces in salt and cotton cloths. Walcait 1500 ounces in cotton cloths.

131 361 The latitude of Adderghey is 13° 24′ 56″; of Macara, on Lamalmen, 13° 6′ 8″; of Gondar, 12° 34′ 30″; of Emfras, 12° 12′ 38″; of the fountains, 10° 58′ 58″.

000 *Note at Lobeia.*—The Arabs are fond of music, especially vocal; for they have no instruments but a kind of flute, of the size of a German flute, which gives a wild and not unmelodious sound, and the cymbal or drum, with ten pieces fixed to its sides, which is chiefly used in cadence in dancing, or for symphonies. Their vocal music, or songs, are upon first hearing disagreeable; but it rarely happens that one who has a good ear is not soon fond of them. They are all upon love; at least I never heard any that had war for their subject; some have religion, and are sung by their Shekhs, or saints. The former have effects upon their hearers nearly as extravagant as the ancient music produced. They have no music in parts, and have absolutely no idea of harmonical composition.

[pp. 81-end have not been processed for the files. - Analyst]

[p. 62]

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5
Ethiopia MP1

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A
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[P.113]

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5
Ethiopia MP1
Tigre MN9

related to Ge'ez, the ancient and liturgical language of Ethiopia, much as Italian is related to Latin.[1] It was in Tigre country that, during the first seven centuries A.D., the kingdom of Aksum reached heights of civilization never again attained in Ethiopia's history. Because of the antiquity of their region and the glory of their past, the Tigre are to some extent the cultural aristocrats of Ethiopia.

The Amhara inhabit vast areas of what are today the provinces of Bagemder, Gojjam, Wallo, and Shoa. Their language, Amharic, is the official language of Ethiopia.* Since the beginning of what is called the restored Solomonid Dynasty (1270), all but one of the emperors of Ethiopia have been Amhara.† The exception was a Tigre, Emperor Yohānnes IV (1872–89), though he sojourned for many years at Dabra Tābor in Amhara country, and Amharic was commonly spoken at his court.

The differences between Amhara and Tigre culture have not yet been studied systematically. Even so, one can say that their differences are not nearly so great as what the two groups have in common. Language forms the chief difference. Like Ge'ez and Tigrinya, Amharic is a Semitic language, ultimately descended from old South Arabic, but Amharic has been molded to a greater degree by indigenous Cushitic tongues. Other differences relate to minor variations in custom, greater communal orientation in some Tigre areas, and differences in temperament. But the two groups share the legacy of Aksum, the Ethiopic alphabet, Ge'ez literature, Monophysite Christianity, similar political and social institutions, and the same style of life. One would be justified in treating their traditional Abyssinian culture as a unity, as virtually all authors have done in the past.

In this book, however, I have chosen to focus on Amhara culture as the dominant tradition in Ethiopia. This has been done, first of all, because of my limited competence to deal with Tigre materials, since I am neither familiar with Tigrinya nor fortunate enough to have done field work in Tigre areas. But a less fortuitous reason is that any serious account of contemporary Ethiopia must begin with the fact of Amhara dominance. With respect to numbers, true, the Amhara are in a minority: Amhara probably comprise no more than one-quarter of Ethiopia's total population (now estimated at around twenty-two million). Their dominance is to be measured, rather, in political and cultural terms. On the political side it is manifest in the perpetuation of the Amhara monarchy and the preponderance of Amhara in top political offices. On the cultural side it appears in the spread of Amhara customs throughout the empire by officials, soldiers, settlers, and teachers, and in

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* English is the second official language.

† A number of Amhara emperors since the mid-eighteenth century were partly of Galla stock, however.

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

[GONDAR]

*175 633 left Gondar for Shoa, where he became a favorite at the court of Emperor Menelik.

[159] [793] Alaqā Gabra Hānnā was not the only one to leave Gondar in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Conditions there had become increasingly miserable. In 1866 Tēwodros, angered by the opposition of the Gondarē clergy to his plans for unifying the country through a standing national army, turned his wrath against them into a fearful pillage of the churches of Gondar.* The next emperor, Takla Giyorgis, worked feverishly to rebuild Gondar during his few years in power (1869–72). It was to no avail. In 1887 a large army of dervishes invaded Ethiopia from the Sudan and sacked Gondar, destroying it more completely than had Tēwodros.

*175 633 643 [648]

*175 633 The priests and monks who survived carried on. Gondar remained an important center for instruction in *aquāquām* and *tergum*, though Gojjam became more important for the study of *qenē* and other schools in Bagemder and Tigre for the study of *zēmā*. The civil order, however, was thoroughly demoralized. Gondarēs left in large numbers for the countryside or made their way to Lāstā and more distant provinces.

[166]

*175 633 643 648 At the time of the dervish invasion, the churchmen of Gondar appealed to Emperor Yohānnes for succor. The text of their message—the last utterance from the old capital—began as follows:

> O master! The heathen have come into thine inheritance; thy holy temple have they defiled; they have laid Gondar in heaps. The dead bodies of thy servants have they given to be meat unto the fowls of the heaven, the flesh of thy saints unto the beasts of the earth. Their blood have they shed like water round about Dambiyā; and there was none to bury them.[11]

Yohānnes responded at once. It was to revenge defenseless Gondar that he led the expedition against the dervishes which cost him his life, thereby leaving the way open for the accession of the House of Manz.

The Role of Manz

131 133 Manz is a rugged rural area of about 850 square miles located in the northeast horn of Shoa Province.[12] It lies on a broad plateau at a height of ten thousand feet above sea level. This plateau is crosscut by a number of rivers which flow westerly to become part of the great Blue Nile Basin. The valleys of the rivers are flanked by fairly abrupt cliffs, which make travel from one part of Manz to another slow going. These rivers form boundaries between the geographical divisions within Manz, which is divided into three major parts: Māmā Meder in the south, Lālo Meder in the center, and Gērā Meder in the north. The entire area of Manz is itself bounded by steep mountains.[13]

* Fortunately he preserved hundreds of manuscripts from Gondar's churches which eventually found their way to the British Museum after the Napier Expedition against Tēwodros in 1868.

12:Young E-4,5 (1966) 1971 MP5 Amhara MP5
Begemder

PREFACE

121 This dissertation describes the medical beliefs and practices of an Amhara population of northwestern Ethio-
114 pia. The field research upon which it is based was con-
• 131 ducted from January to December, 1966, in the highland area of Begemder province that extends from Gorgora, on the northern shore of Lake Tana, to Debark, overlooking
101 the Takassie valley (see Map 3). This region is occupied
144 by four ethnic groups, the Amhara, Abyssinian Muslims,
197 Falasha (Abyssinian Jews), and Agaw (former pagans). All
131 are racially indistinguishable from one another, and speak a common language, Amharic. North of the Takassie River live the Tigre, a people closely related to the Amhara and, like the latter, Coptic Christians.

101 The Amhara, who are the most numerous of Begemder's peoples, also inhabit much of the highland plateau extend-
231 ing to the south, into Gojam and Shoa provinces, and to
241 the east, into Wollo province. Most Amhara are rural folk
621 who practice a mixed agricultural economy, gorwing grains
632 and pulses; raising sheep, goats, and cattle. The Amhara countryside is divided into parishes. A parish is composed of several hamlets whose residents live on dispersed homesteads, and share important social and econo-
369 mic ties through their parish's church. In addition to these rural folk, Amhara constitute a majority among the townspeople of highland Begemder.

als who are not members of his hadra, and, more frequently, provides divinatory services for clients.

For each of its members, the hadra, comprising its human and zar members, becomes the group within which her most important social relationships beyond the family are found. In a medical context, the hadra develops into an exclusive and self-sufficient group, in which the balazars trace all of their serious physical ailments to the displeasure of their zars, and find all necessary prophylactic, diagnostic, and therapeutic assistance in the hadra leader.

THE DISTRIBUTION OF SECULAR HEALERS IN RURAL BEGEMDER

Within the 74,200 square kilometers of Begemder Province are found a diversity of physical conditions, from the hot and parched western lowlands, through the fertile and temperate highland plateau, ascending to the cold and empty mountain reaches of Ras Dashan. The people of Begemder divide its lands into three ecological zones, as indicated by map 1.

Kola lands are located between elevations of 600 and 1800 meters. The highlander considers kola to be a disagreeable region; it is unhealthful because of malaria (often referred to as yisudan bashiyta, "the Sudanese disease), and unpleasant in its excessive heat. Preferred

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 103]

12:Young E-4,5 (1966) 1971 MP5 Amhara MP5
Begemder

MAP 1

ECOLOGICAL ZONES OF BEGEMDER PROVINCE

(After Simoons 1960: 5)

102
• 131

DEGA

WEYNA DEGA

KOLA

Woggera Traditional regions mentioned in the text

12:Young E-4,5 (1966) 1971 MP5 Amhara MP5
Begemder

MAP 2

THE MAJOR ETHNIC GROUPS OF BEGEMDER PROVINCE

(Adapted from Simoons 1960: 22)

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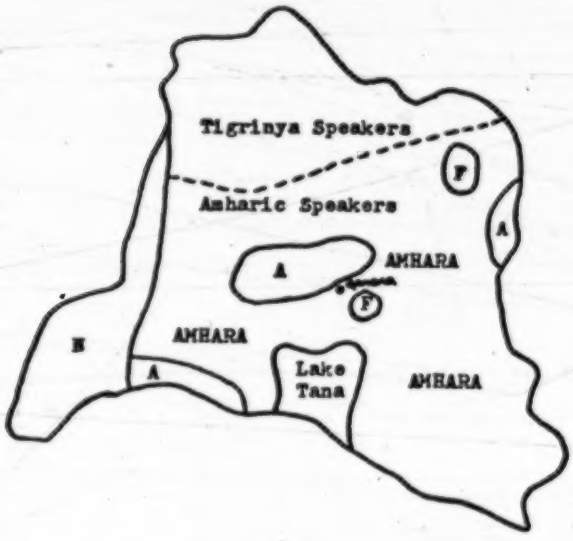
102
• 131



A: Agaw

F: Falasha

N: Nilotes

AMHARA: Abyssinian Muslims also dispersed throughout these areas

12:Young E-4,5 (1966) 1971 MP5 Amhara MP5
Begemder

MAP 3

EXTREME DISTANCES TRAVELLED TO PRINCIPAL WEEKLY MARKETS OF HIGHLAND BEGEMDER PROVINCE

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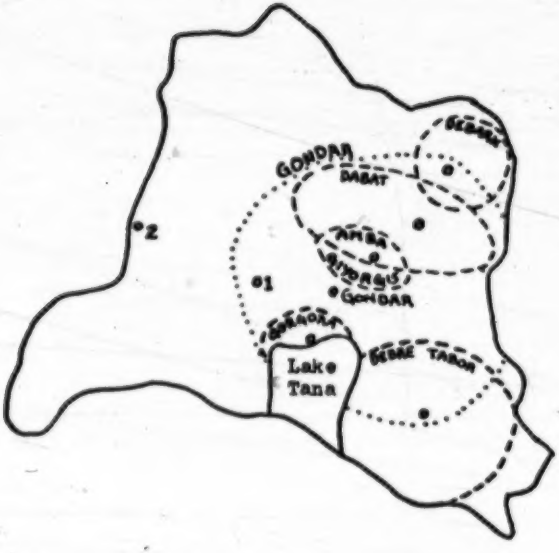
484



Distances from Gondar

Amba Giyorgis...	24 miles
Dabat.....	44 miles
Debark.....	61 miles
Debre Tabor.....	104 miles
Gorgora.....	40 miles
Chilga (1).....	45 miles
Metemma (2).....	140 miles

12:Young E-4,5 (1966) 1971 MP5 Amhara MP5
Begemder

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Preferred
[243] cereals cannot be grown here, instead sorghum, finger millet, and white tef (Eragrostis teff; an indigenous, [635] tiny-grained cereal) are produced. Moreover, the civil administration of the kola is less effective than in the highlands. Of the three zones, kola is the most sparse- [162] [563] ly populated, and the only one to contain a substantial [567] indigenous non-Hamitic population. These are a Nilotic people, horticulturalists living on the province's western periphery. Highlanders refer to them by a putative tribal nomer, "Shankella", and, until recent times, obtained their domestic slaves from this population. Even now, Nilotes living in the highlands are popularly known as bariya, "slave".

Weyna dega lands are located between 1800 and 3000 [136] meters. This is parkland beyond the range of the ano- [243] pheles mosquito, and ideal for growing preferred cereals, [231] wheat and red teff. Here, as in the other zones, agriculture is complemented by the raising of sheep, goats, and chickens for food; cattle for meat, milk, and plowing; donkeys to carry burdens across the broken plateau lands; and horses and mules as mounts.

Dega lands are the sections of the plateau which [243] extend beyond the 3000 meter mark. In their lower reaches, wheat and red teff are grown, but at higher altitudes [233] barley is the dominant cereal. The lands above 4000 meters cannot be cultivated, although some are used for grazing.

753 grazing. Both highland zones are considered ideal for
131 human habitation. While residents of the dega zone oc-
133 casionally comment on what they regard as the uncomfor-
821 table summer heat of the weyna dega, at the same time it is acknowledged that the rainy season (kiramt) is more burdensome in the dega. The rains last from May to September and are marked by temperatures in the mid-thirties in dega lands and perhaps ten to fifteen degrees warmer in the weyna dega. This season is regarded as a particularly bad time for kurtimat (rheumatoid complaints) whose severity is considered greatest in the dega zone. Epidemiologically, the dega is also associated with a relatively high incidence of yinifas basiyta ("the wind disease"), an ailment described in Chapter One.

131 Although reliable population estimates are lacking,
101 the weyna dega and dega zones contain perhaps 85% of
161 Begemder's people. These rural highlands are occupied
197 by five ethnic groups, racially indistinguishable from
144 one another and, with an exception, now speaking a common Semetic languase, Amharic. The Amhara are the most numerous of Begemder's highland peoples, and extend into the provinces of Gojam and Shoa, to the south. Within the Begemder highlands, they occupy the area south of latitude $13^{0}30'$. North of this line live the Tigre, a related people who speak a cognate language, Tigrinya.
101 Both Amhara and Tigre are Coptic Christians, and from
131
779

12:Young E-4,5 (1966) 1971 MP5 Amhara MP5
Begemder

101
131
779 their combined ranks the political elite of Ethiopia has been historically recruited. Third among the highland peoples are the Agaw. It appears likely that they are the descendants of the original Hamitic population of this region, and only during the last century have most Begemder Agaw been converted from their indigenous religious beliefs to membership in the Coptic Church. Within Begemder, they constitute a majority of the inhabitants of three non-contiguous areas. Fourth among highlanders are the rural Muslims, indigenous people who have been converted to Islam over the last five centuries.
241 While the rural Amhara, Tigre, and Agaw are exclusively
463 farmers, these Muslims divide their energies between farm-
286 ing and working as artisans, mainly weavers of the toga
443 cloth; Muslim women are prominant among the traders of
562 the weekly markets held throughout the province. Least numerous of the highland people are the Falasha, Abyssin-
423 ian Jews following a Mosaic creed. A despised and humil-
326 iated people, the Falasha farm only rented fields
286 (timene), and work as smiths as well as weavers; Falasha
162 women are potters. Although the Falasha are localized in several regions, they nowhere constitute a majority
361 of an area's residents. Like the Abyssinian Muslims, they reside either in hamlets of their own, apart from Amhara, or in peripheral homesteads of otherwise Christian hamlets. These distributions are summarized in Map2.